/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindemberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
• [115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karemauõ and the war chief Porõhiwõ deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emilio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waikâ (Waika) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waikâ represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
● [115] "Yanoamí nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Harateri," and secondly the Waikâ, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Wafka" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.
114 131 174 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 115 [131] /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianâ" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
[439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives,
• [115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusebeweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of Ia. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

● [115]

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539

IX. Myths and Legends

[115] The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanomámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapõ, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[801] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 609 speeded them with threats of dubious efficacy as they retreated to a safe distance.

'*Ami*,' said the old man. We took him up in chorus and by evening the merriment reached its height, punctuated by the howls of the Shirians as they trampled our food supplies, grimacing over them like apes. The howling and shouting gradually gave place to something a little more musical; soon they were singing, and this in its turn excited them to dancing and stylised movements that were of great interest to us. Ami repeated anything we said, without hesitation. Sometimes the imitation was perfect, but for the most part our barbarous language tied his tongue up, so that he would be saying '*gweeno*' for '*oregano*' (wizard) and '*dirifichappa*' for '*aeroplano*', amid general hilarity.

By the time the Great Bear had appeared in the cold sky over the Sarisariñama, a certain madness had invaded us too, and in an innocent, unutopical sort of way we ran mildly amok. We got hold of the gun and fired shots into the air. This made the Indians jump for joy. Some of them started dancing and howling in a fine frenzy round and round the hut, sweating like pigs and led by Mouni armed with a big aluminium saucepan on which he kept up a rhythmic beat with a machete. The song and dance finished when the performers had no strength left, and no voice. The most dogged of them, however, even after they had flung themselves down on the benches, or on the ground, or lay stretched out on the table, still managed a last raucous imitation of the refrain they had learned from us: '*Parautapparche, che, che, che.*'

When morning came the men of Ami went off promising to return with bananas and sugar-cane: we undertook to purchase these, giving them in exchange those things which the women had vainly tried to lift from us. Then the long file of dirty dwarfs vanished among the trees, and with them our windsock which they had taken off its pole at some stage of the proceedings and were now carrying off as a trophy.

● [115] We learned more that same day about the 'windsock' from Luis Antonio, a Shirian speaking perfect Spanish who had come up the river with two other Indians: they didn't exactly inspire confidence, though he presented them as brothers.

'I saw one of the Obatiri Shirians wearing it,' he told us, giving the Ami men their proper name. 'He was running about in the woods with one leg on and one off.'

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Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844 I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my [128] knowledge.

● [115] 'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five [225] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *carite* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced [846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

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to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracoea river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uaremo had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uaremo paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uaremo was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auui stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uaremo had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, smiling people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

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any moment to fall on human beings and devour them. With us Sempronio knew no fear, and he always wore a smile. He would run round our legs like a puppy, and was always ready to do things, taking on the heaviest tasks under the worst conditions. He ate with us. He ate purposefully and he went on eating. His voracity had to be seen to be believed, when you considered his slim delicate build. He ate our rations. Then he ate the special ones which the Indians prepared for themselves, and on top of that he ate an endless number of things which with great foresight he had collected on the way: grubs, honeycomb with brood cells, honey and all, small fish, worms, birds' eggs taken from the nest, frogs, young snakes, palm hearts from young palm trees—he ate everything with rapid and relentless mastication, cooking what could be cooked on the fire, and devouring the rest raw.

When he had eaten everything he would start a regular licking of his fingers, and of the leaves which might still be wet with the juices of whatever strange meats he had wrapped in them. Then he would prepare fresh delights with the innards of any game we ourselves had cooked, adding heads, claws, wing-sinews and any other odd tit-bits he could find. With a knife he would work on them like lightning. Each little delicacy was attacked at full speed, entrails were devoured, heads were crunched right up to the beak, claws cleaned of every shred of meat. Then came the time to inspect the bones we had thrown away. He split them with a knife, and if there was any marrow he could be trusted to suck it out. Finally, after a last careful lick of each finger in turn, Sempronio, the little fellow from the Shirian metropolis of Auxi, would go to roost in his hammock over the fire which wrapped him in its warm blanket of heat.

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MaKiri'tare SS 20
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●115
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*123

21. The Indians of La Perouse have lost all but a shadow of their old proud personalities. Left to right: - Segundi, Pedro, Sabo, Pedro's wife, Sampronio, Thomaso. Enrico in background.

[P 96 - H]

114 and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to
122 Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malarialogía) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physicpathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

122. A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Barno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

116 I thank Kąobëwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, for
124 his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumöna-u of the Yanomamö. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Rusmi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yanomamö) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karibö-bora in Yanomamö) near the present village of Kashorawö-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a
361
• [145] larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he
[179] has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information
[184] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmaribŏwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain
[502] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakĕbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

101 called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

[[29]] I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the [[94]] initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Ierries (1964:19)

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[1] See next page.

[[85]] [2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanẽma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

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[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaberi[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages. Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a problem, as each village will have its own leader, and therefore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[1] Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

Moiyowë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyowë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyowë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyowë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Epabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyowë cut both her ears off to punish her.

Fig. 1-3. Kaiwaiwä, the new leader, listens to (thought) a strange voice in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö. If, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaiwaiwä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives as for and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bakimi and Kosamabima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bakimi, his oldest and favorite wife. Kosamabima, about 30 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kaiwaiwä may give Kosamabima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaiwaiwä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was lonely. "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon 8-6 (1964-1965) 1981 SCSS Yanomamo SCSS

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other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąpawrë had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąpawrë's oldest wife, Bakimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bakimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Arowë, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Arowë to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąpawrë have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąpawrë is quiet, serious, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kamakawë (Kąpawrë's younger) playing with playing with her son, who is holding a toy frog

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village, thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawë is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the villages to which Kąobawë's is allied. Rerebawë left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawë's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

Rerebawë is perhaps more typical than Kąobawë in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other often his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relationships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

He does not intend to stay in Kąobawë's group and has not made a garden. He feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked him with a club. Rerebawë was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawë dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and shrank back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawë release the vise-grip on his arm.

Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawë, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawë's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawë was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

Even though Rerebawë is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawë was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, 115
"Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his [156]
culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own [829]
culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

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Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an chenc nasiw sitting on the sideline in an hallucinogenic stupor.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowī's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąbowī's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąbowī and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąbowī's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąbowī's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąbowī's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąbowī's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąbowī's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąbowī and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąbowī's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąbowī and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16]James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąbowī and his group.

11: Chagnon I-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kaobawë's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawë told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawë, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwë, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwë got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

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[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, so the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.